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ABSTRACT

This study reports a content analysis of 1976-1977 commercial television programing for incidents of alcohol, drug, and tobacco use and sexual behavior. The analysis included one episode of each prime time and Saturday morning dramatic series, comprising 77 programs and 58 hours of television viewing. A concurrent survey among 300 fourth, sixth, and eighth grade children identified the series viewed by 40 percent or more of these children. Substance use and sexual behavior are defined as they relate to this study and findings are discussed. A 23-item bibliography is attached. (RAO)

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PROJECT CASTLE
CHILDREN AND SOCIAL TELEVISION LEARNING

SUBSTANCE USE AND SEXUAL INTIMACY ON COMMERCIAL TELEVISION

by

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with

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October, 1977
Report No.5

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Washington, D.C.
Maiso Bryant, Project Officer

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Sex on television has become an increasing concern of social critics. For every letter received by the networks complaining of violence, more than 20 letters are received that deal with sex content. In a similar manner, concern over the use of such substances as alcohol, drugs and tobacco has been expressed by such groups as Action for Children's Television, the National Institute on Drug Abuse, and the National Institute on Alcoholism. However, there is a noticeable lack of objective information on the nature and quantity of substance use and sexuality in current programming. Obtaining such information is necessary to make sound propositions about the potential effects of viewing the use of drugs and sex acts on television.

This paper reports a content analysis of 1976-77 commercial television programming for the incidence of these content variables. The additional motivation for identifying and describing this content is in terms of its potential for social learning about these issues by young viewers. According to Roberts (1973), childhood and adolescence are periods of information-seeking during which the child learns what to expect from the world and what the world expects from him/her. Children derive information from multiple sources, but television in particular provides exposure to worldly behaviors that go substantially beyond the limits of the child's immediate experiences. Television presents attitudes and values which may differ from those of family and peers, and information in quantities far greater than what is available at first hand (Roberts

and Schramm, 1971). There is substantial evidence that the observation of social models, specifically including television models, accounts for much information that is communicated to young people (Bandura and Walters, 1963; Flanders, 1968; Hartup and Coates, 1969).

Clearly, there is substantial television exposure by young people. Lyle and Hoffman (1972) found that over a week's period, first graders spent some 24 hours watching television, sixth graders some 30 hours and tenth graders about 28 hours. More recent Neilsen information suggests an increasing trend in television exposure among all age groups. Thus, the potential to learn from available television content is matched by the degree of exposure.

Evidence as to the incidence of substances and sex acts on television is more limited. Hanneman and McEwen (1975) analyzed two weeks of prime-time shows from the 1972-73 and 1973-74 seasons. The alcohol acts occurred from .54 to .86 times per hour, depending on show type and season. Drug depictions occurred rarely, and tobacco use was concentrated in non-network offerings, i.e., it seldom appeared in current series episodes. Winick and Winick (1976) analyzed TV ads on beer and wine, and found them typically depicted in happy interpersonal social situations involving young men and women.

Other studies have analyzed sources of information and influence about alcohol, marijuana and other drugs among high school students (Frejer, et.al., 1971; Hanneman, 1973; Hanneman and McEwen, 1973; McEwen and Hanneman, 1974; Ostman, 1976; Smart and Frejer, 1972; Wittenborn, et.al., 1970). All these concluded that friends and the mass media are judged as the two most important sources of information and influence about drugs for young people. Mass media were found to be particularly important in affecting cognitions about drugs, and among the media, television was judged the most important source of drug information.

There is some scant evidence that television content on drugs impacts on young viewers' attitudes, but it may be limited to proprietary drugs. Reubens

(1975), Atkin (1975), and Milavsky, Pekowsky and Stipp (1975) found that proprietary drug advertising exposure was positively related to perceptions about illness and drug use, the approval of medicine usage, and beliefs that drugs work fast and effectively.

As for sex acts on television, Franzblau, Sprafkin and Rubinstein (1977) reported on a sample of TV content for the 1975-76 prime-time period. They found more physically intimate behaviors in the 8-9 p.m. time period than later in the evening, and that they occurred most frequently on situation comedies and variety shows. The acts which occurred more often than once per hour were kissing, embracing, flirting, non-aggressive touching and partner-seeking. They uncovered no instances of homosexual activity, and only two acts of implied or explicit heterosexual intercourse in the 50 hours of programming examined. Using fairly similar categories of sex acts and the same season of television, Abel and Fontes (1976) also determined that there were more sex acts of the kinds coded before 9 p.m. than afterwards. In essence, violence during the early evening had been functionally substituted for with sex behaviors. As will be noted below, the present study focuses on the more intimate or aberrant sex behaviors, and excludes such acts as kissing, hugging, etc.

The sexual socialization of an individual rarely develops as an orderly process of information intake and subsequent sexual maturity. Input from parents, peers, religious training, personal experience and experimentation, and the mass media often serve to retard or impede the development of accurate sexual perceptions and attitudes (Baran, 1976a,b). Bandura and Walters (1963) have asserted that American children and adolescents are afforded little opportunity to observe actual adult sexual behavior, because the norms of privacy prohibit the direct viewing of all but the most peripheral forms of sexual exchange. For this reason the child is forced into a greater dependence on mass media models for sexual learning.

Baran (1976) argues that adolescents' frustration and dissatisfaction with sexual performance and pleasure are apparently facts of life, and that media portrayals of sexual behavior that raise expectations may be a contributing factor to that frustration and dissatisfaction. According to Baran, television's usual treatment of the male-female relationship implies that coitus is something that is wonderful and worthy of great effort. In the context of such claims and limited evidence, the present content analysis of substances and sex was conducted.

METHOD

One episode of each 1976-77 prime time and Saturday morning dramatic television series was videotaped for analysis. They comprised 77 programs and 58 hours of television. Variety shows, movies and public affairs programs were excluded. The distributions of shows and hours of television time by network, by program type and time period are in Table 1.

Concurrent with the videotaping for purposes of content analysis, a field survey was conducted among more than 300 4th, 6th and 8th grade children in a community near Lansing, Michigan. A list of all prime-time and Saturday morning series were presented and the children marked each program they watched 'every week or almost every week." This survey identified the series viewed regularly by 40% or more of these children. For this report, several analyses differentiate the content contained in those series which attained the highest viewing levels among this sample. The distributions of shows and hours of television time by network, program type and time period for the series most often watched by this sample of young people are also in Table 1.

TABLE 1

SHOW SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

	All Shows		Shows Viewed by 40+% of Sample	
	Number of shows	Number of hours	Number of shows	Number of hours
Networks				
ABC	23	19.0	12	10.0
CBS	28	18.5	15	9.0
NBC	26	20.5	11	9.0
Program Type				
Saturday cartoon	10	7.5	8	6.5
Saturday non-cartoon	8	5.5	4	2.5
Situation comedies	29	14.5	14	7.0
Family drama	2	2.0	2	2.0
Action-adventure	4	4.0	2	2.0
Continuing stories	6	6.0	1	1.0
Action-crime	18	18.5	7	7.0
Time Period				
Saturday morning	18	13	12	9.0
6-9 p.m.	27	18	17	12.5
9-11 p.m.	32	21	9	6.5

Substance use was that set of behaviors which included each instance of the consumption of, attempt to consume, inducement to consume, and making laudatory remarks about consumption of tobacco, alcohol and illegal drugs. It also included the sale of illegal drugs such as marijuana, heroine, LSD, and opium.

Intimate sexual behavior was each explicit, insinuated or endorsed act of sexual intercourse, any type of illicit sexual behavior, or homosexuality. It included these sub-acts:

Rape, homosexual or heterosexual: A forced act of intercourse, usually accompanied by assault or threat.

Homosexual acts: Sexual behavior other than rape between two persons of the same sex.

Intercourse between marriage partners: Each instance of implied or explicit intercourse between spouses.

Intercourse between unmarried people: Only heterosexual acts.

Prostitution: Included the portrayal of pimps and the selling of sex.

Other intimate sexual behaviors: Other sexual behaviors considered illegal or intimate sex acts, that did not fit the other definitions.

The coder training program involved about 50 hours: several behaviors other than those reported in this paper were concurrently analyzed, e.g. sets of pro-social and anti-social behaviors (Greenberg, Atkin, Edison and Korzenny, 1977).

The first step in actual training was to introduce each behavior. The coders and the researchers discussed the conceptualization of the variables. Next, discussion of any special conditions for each variable took place. The coders learned the different circumstances in which the variable might be present. Practice coding then began with tapes of pre-selected shows. Each time

the behavior under discussion was thought to be elicited, the coders independently coded it. Discussion then took place to determine if there were any discrepancies among the coders. When all coders understood and agreed on the meaning and the criteria of the behavior, a new variable was introduced and the same process was repeated. Once all the substance use and intimate sexual behaviors were studied and discussed, there was practice coding for the full set of acts. The coders independently coded the first ten minutes of a show and then compared their observations. Problems or disagreements identified now were dealt with by discussion until there was consensual agreement.

RESULTS

Table 2 presents the overall incidence of substance use acts for the full week of television, for three subcategories of content: use of tobacco, use of alcohol, and use of illegal drugs.

For substance use, the use of alcohol was found to occur 127 times, encompassing 70% of all substance acts coded. The other two categories, use of tobacco (23%) and use of illegal drugs (7%) account for a total of 54 acts coded in the substance use category. In each hour of commercial television there were an average of slightly more than two depictions of alcohol consumption.

In the subset of shows most watched by young people, each substance was used less than across all shows. Again alcohol predominated. Given the low frequency of presentation of other substances, further analyses will be confined to that single substance.

Table 3 shows a parallel analysis for the six coded intimate sexual behavior categories. A total of 100 of the acts defined were identified. Intercourse between unmarried partners (n=41) and acts related to prostitution (n=28) occurred most frequently. These two categories accounted for 69% of all the coded behaviors.

TABLE 2

A) FREQUENCY OF SUBSTANCE USE IN 58 HOURS OF TELEVISION

SUBSTANCE USE	f	%	incidents per hour
1. Use of Tobacco	41	23	.71
2. Use of Alcohol	127	70	2.19
3. Use of Illegal Drugs	13	7	.22
	181	100%	3.12

B) FREQUENCY OF SUBSTANCE USE IN 28 HOURS OF TELEVISION WITH LARGEST CHILD AUDIENCES

SUBSTANCE USE	f	%	incidents per hour
1. Use of Tobacco	10	20	.36
2. Use of Alcohol	41	80	1.46
3. Use of Illegal Drugs	0	0	0
	51	100%	1.82

TABLE 3

A) FREQUENCY OF INTIMATE SEXUAL ACTS IN 58 HOURS OF TELEVISION

INTIMATE SEXUAL ACTS

	f	%	incidents per hour
1. Rape/homo and heterosexual	5	5	.09
2. Homosexual acts	7	7	.12
3. Intercourse/Unmarried	41	41	.71
4. Prostitution	28	28	.48
5. Other Intimate Sexual Behaviors	13	13	.22
6. Intercourse/Marriage Partners	6	6	.10
	100	100%	1.72

B) FREQUENCY OF INTIMATE SEXUAL ACTS IN SHOWS WITH LARGEST CHILD AUDIENCES

INTIMATE SEXUAL ACTS

	f	%	incidents per hour
1. Rape/homo and heterosexual	2	7	.07
2. Homosexual acts	1	4	.04
3. Intercourse/Unmarried	17	60	.60
4. Prostitution	3	11	.11
5. Other Intimate Sexual Behaviors	4	14	.14
6. Intercourse/Marriage Partners	1	4	.04
	28	100%	1.00

In subsequent analyses, all heterosexual acts of intercourse between unmarried and married partners were summed and presented as a single subcategory "heterosexual intercourse". In doing that, it is worth noting from Table 3 that intercourse between unmarrieds was found seven times as often as intercourse between husband and wife, across all shows. Further, in the shows most watched by children, the rate of unmarried intercourse was virtually the same, whereas there was but a single example among marriage partners. Prostitution, strong in all shows, was not very evident in the children's preferred shows.

These results conflict sharply with those of Franzblau et.al. (1977) for the prior television season. They could find virtually no acts of intercourse in their sample of 50 television hours.[1]

Table 4 presents the distribution of content analyzed by three time periods: Saturday morning, family hour (8 to 9 p.m.) and post-family hour (9-11 p.m.). During this third time period, incidents related to alcohol consumption occurred nearly 3.5 times each hour. Use of alcohol was twice as high per hour from 9-11 p.m. as for family hour. There was virtually none on Saturday morning.

Nine to eleven p.m. was the time period when the most frequent intimate sexual behaviors were presented. Intercourse and prostitution were dominant. In this sample of shows, family hour was the only television time with homosexual acts and no intimate sexual acts were found on Saturday morning.

Table 5 presents parallel information on content available during those time periods for the subset of shows most frequently watched by the child sample at the time these television programs were content analyzed. In this subset of shows the rate of use of alcohol between 9-11 p.m. was comparable to the family hour rate and less than available in less-watched shows. All evening long, the set of preferred shows contained two alcohol use acts each hour.

TABLE 3

USE OF ALCOHOL AND INTIMATE SEXUAL ACTS

PT TIME PERIOD
(Hourly Rates)

ALCOHOL

	Saturday morning	family hour 8-9 p.m.	9-11 p.m.
1. Use of Alcohol	.07	1.77	3.45

INTIMATE SEXUAL ACTS

	Saturday morning	family hour 8-9 p.m.	9-11 p.m.
1. Homosexual acts	0	.40	0
2. Heterosexual intercourse	0	.74	1.23
3. Prostitution	0	0	1.00
4. Other intimate sexual behaviors	0	0	.47
	0	1.14	2.70

TABLE 5

USE OF ALCOHOL AND INTIMATE SEXUAL ACTS

IN SHOWS WITH LARGEST CHILD AUDIENCE

BY TIME PERIOD
(Hourly Rates)

ALCOHOL

	Saturday morning	family hour 8-9 p.m.	9-11 p.m.
1. Use of Alcohol	.11	2.08	2.15

INTIMATE SEXUAL ACTS

	Saturday morning	family hour 8-9 p.m.	9-11 p.m.
1. Homosexual acts	0	.08	0
2. Heterosexual intercourse	0	.24	2.30
3. Prostitution	0	0	.46
4. Other intimate sexual behaviors	0	0	.61
	0	.32	3.37

In the children's favorite shows, heterosexual intercourse occurred almost exclusively between 9-11 p.m., was the most common type of behavior, and occurred more than twice per hour. The shows the children chose to watch regularly from 9-11 p.m. contained one more act of intercourse per hour (2.30) than was found in the full range of shows available (1.23 in Table 4).

Table 6 presents the analysis of these acts for seven types of television programs: Saturday morning cartoon shows, Saturday morning non-cartoon shows, situation comedies, family drama shows, action-adventures, continuing stories and crime shows. Perhaps the most striking finding is the amount of alcohol use in crime shows--four incidents per hour. In action-adventure, continuing stories and family drama shows, alcohol incidents occurred more than 2.5 times per hour, with situation comedies trailing behind. Saturday non-cartoons did not depict alcohol or any intimate sex behaviors.

In terms of intimate sexual behaviors, it is the newest genre of TV program type--the continuing story--which is most promiscuous. Three sex acts per hour occurred, spread among intercourse, prostitution and other intimate acts. Crime shows and situation comedies were the other two program types with any frequency of sex acts, averaging 1.5 per hour.

Table 7 presents parallel data for that subset of shows most often watched by the sample of young people.

Children were not fans of the continuing stories and therefore did not observe the acts found in Table 6. However, their preferred shows contained a rate of alcohol use quite similar to that observed across all shows. There was extensive use of alcohol in action-adventure, crime and family drama programs. The youngsters also observed sex acts at the same rate as all shows in the crime and situation comedy shows. In the preferred shows, these sex acts were more predominantly acts of intercourse rather than prostitution or miscellaneous sex behaviors.

TABLE 6

USE OF ALCOHOL AND INTIMATE SEXUAL ACTS

BY PROGRAM TYPE
(Hourly Rates)

ALCOHOL

	action adventure	continuing stories	crime	family drama	situation comedies	Saturday cartoons
1. Use of Alcohol	2.75	2.76	4.0	2.5	1.37	.13

INTIMATE SEXUAL BEHAVIORS

1. Homosexual acts	0	0	0	0	.48	0
2. Heterosexual Intercourse	0	1.33	.54	0	.20	0
3. Prostitution	0	.66	.70	0	.75	0
4. Other intimate sexual behaviors	0	1.00	.37	0	0	0
	0	2.99	1.61	0	1.43	0

TABLE 7

USE OF ALCOHOL AND INTIMATE SEXUAL ACTS

IN SHOWS WITH LARGEST CHILD AUDIENCES

BY PROGRAM TYPE
(Hourly Rates)

ALCOHOL

	action adventure	continuing stories	crime	family drama	situation comedies	Saturday cartoons
1. Use of Alcohol	4.50	0	2.50	2.50	1.10	1.50

INTIMATE SEXUAL BEHAVIORS

1. Homosexual acts	0	0	0	0	.14	0
2. Heterosexual Intercourse	0	0	.85	0	1.70	0
3. Prostitution	0	0	.42	0	0	0
4. Other intimate sexual behaviors	0	0	.57	0	0	0
	0	0	1.84	0	1.84	0

Table 8 presents the hourly rate of use of alcohol and intimate sexual behaviors for the ABC, CBS, and NBC networks. Use of alcohol occurred at a higher rate for CBS, and at nearly identical rates for ABC and NBC. CBS was the most frequent provider of heterosexual intercourse.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

These would appear to be the central findings from the content analyses performed:

1. The use of alcohol in commercial television series is extensive and frequent, occurring more than twice each program hour. The use of such substances as tobacco or illicit drugs is rare; the latter occurs perhaps once in five hours of programming.

2. Alcohol usage occurs virtually not at all on Saturday morning shows, about twice per hour from 8 to 9 p.m., and more than three times per hour during the prime time period of 9 to 11 p.m.

3. The presence of alcohol is most dominant in four program types: action-adventure, continuing stories, crime, and family dramas; however, young people do not watch the continuing stories, confining their alcohol usage exposure to the other three program types.

4. Intimate sexual acts, both implied and explicit, occur on commercial television at the rate of just under two per hour. The predominant act is sexual intercourse between heterosexuals unmarried to each other; the second major act in frequency is that of prostitution. In the shows children watch most, the only major act is that of intercourse between unmarrieds.

5. No intimate acts occur on Saturday morning; just under two per hour occur during family hour; the rate from 9 to 11 p.m. is approximately 3.5 per hour.

TABLE 8

HOURLY RATES OF USE OF ALCOHOL AND INTIMATE SEXUAL ACTS BY NETWORK

ALCOHOL

	ABC	CBS	NBC
1. Use of Alcohol	1.84	2.86	1.90

INTIMATE SEXUAL ACTS

1. Homosexual acts	.36	0	0
2. Heterosexual Intercourse	.57	1.29	.58
3. Prostitution	.42	.64	.39
4. Other intimate sexual behaviors	.36	.05	.24
	1.71	1.98	1.21

6. The largest amount of sexual behavior occurs in continuing stories, at three per hour, followed by crime and situation comedies at about 1.5 per hour. The favorite children's shows exclude the continuing stories, so their own exposure is largely confined to intimate sex acts during crime shows and situation comedies.

Discussion

In this study, two content areas have been linked because they constitute expressed public concerns about television content. The concerns are that substance usage and certain intimate sex behaviors are presented with considerable regularity. The further concern--that these same behaviors are presented in a consistently favorable light--was not evaluated in this project.

The basis for these concerns is in their potential impact on young viewers. The socialization literature attests to the likely influence of television on young viewers, particularly in those situations where other sources of information are minimal. For these two content areas, the mass media and the interpersonal systems of friends comprise major information sources.

Insofar as the substances examined in this study are concerned, only alcohol achieves a prominence and a frequency worthy of continuing investigation. Throughout the evening, in several different show types, taking a drink and offering a drink occur regularly. In contrast, tobacco and illicit drug use occur sufficiently infrequently as to wash out as a potential basis for social learning from television. Current national studies of young people now point to an increasing alcohol problem, much as illicit drug substances were identified a half-decade ago. The former substances are manifestly easier to obtain, less expensive, and more socially acceptable. Television provides additional salience to alcohol as a concomitant to interpersonal social behaviors. Current educational counseling efforts in the public schools are being redirected to alcohol-related problems.

On the other hand, the verbal and visual displays of intimate sex behaviors on television are largely constrained to acts of intercourse that are mutually agreeable to heterosexual partners. Deviancy--in the forms of homosexuality and rape--occurs very little. However, the heterosexual acts of intercourse that are provided are seldom sanctioned by marriage. They are for play or for pay among unmarried partners; less than one in ten of the acts of intercourse occur between marriage partners. Several questions come to mind vis a vis social learning theory: Does intercourse appear to be more socially acceptable to regular viewers of such content; is it more desirable; is it more justified without marriage; is there less concern for the after-effects of pregnancy; is prostitution more accepted; is there a sense of personal frustration among those who may believe they are backwards in this behavior; is there a greater preoccupation with sex or with drinking, or both; why don't married people do this as often as unmarried ones?

The basic act of intercourse as suggested by television content is that it occurs quite often, but seldom among those who are married to each other. Further, it can be bought and paid for if not obtained otherwise. Marriage partners interact on other bases, but unmarried partners quite often interact on this basis. In essence, it provides a moral code which may be in conflict with the tenets provided by other social institutions, including the family and the church. Having established the potential conflict, the further research which would tap this belief area, and the role of television in influencing it, becomes more critical.

Were we to begin anew with this study, several important dimensions would be added to this straightforward counting of incidents. For one, it would be important to examine the degree of explicitness in the sex behavior portrayals. To the extent that references are ambiguous or coy, learning should be more difficult; to the extent that the portrayals are graphic, explicit and informative,

learning should be augmented. For a second, one would wish to distinguish between verbal and visual presentations of intimate sexual information, and these might well be independent of the dimension of explicitness. For example, there could be a straightforward verbal request or demand for the performance of certain sex acts, or there could be a good deal of verbal sexual innuendo. The former is more easily observed by young viewers. Further, the visual displays can vary from the bedroom scene and close physical contacts, to the couple who overtly depart for the bedroom, but without the cameras following. A third component would be to more comprehensively define the role of sex in and out of marriage. What is it that marital partners do in the way of affectionate behaviors, for example, that do not imply or explicitly suggest intercourse; and what is that non-marital partners do in addition to intercourse?

Across both drug and sex behaviors, it is essential to examine the outcomes of the specific acts. When drinking is demonstrated, does it provide satisfaction to the drinker, or pitiful drunkenness? What consequence does that act have for the doer and those in the same social situation? What motives are provided for the drinking--sheer enjoyment, escape from personal problems, or habit? Similar questions should guide subsequent content analysis of intimate sex behaviors. Are the motives and/or consequences provided in the program? Are they socially constructive or destructive? Social learning theory posits that maximum learning will accrue from those situations in which the consequences of any demonstrated act are positively reinforcing. But the existing literature provides no information as to whether the participants enjoy or are harmed by such behaviors. One could project that there are both positive and negative responses, but the preeminence of one or the other warrants systematic evidence.

Lest this appear to be a continuing diatribe against television content, it is important to note that the questions asked are those which certain critics believe are already answered. Those who would censor television tend to

argue their case without substantive evidence. Here, we have provided initial evidence to support certain claims regarding the prevalence of specific behaviors, and evidence to refute claims about the occurrence of other behaviors. But television content appears to be volatile in the presentation of sex. It may well be increasing at a rapid rate, if the differences between these findings and those of Franzblau et al. (1977) are an accurate reflection of a strong trend change; continuing monitoring is needed. Moreso, scientific inquiry as to the impact of this content is essential.

FOOTNOTE

[1]Given this sharp contrast with the Franzblau et.al. content analysis from the prior season, this paper's two senior authors personally re-examined a subset of the videotaped shows which had been coded as containing instances of sexual intercourse. The 41 coded intercourse behaviors came from 17 different shows. Seven shows contained one act each; four shows had two acts; three had three acts, one had five acts and two had six acts. Five shows were re-examined, and all coded instances were verified. In this study, verbal utterances which are subtle or euphemistic ways of referring to intercourse activity were coded as intercourse. This may account for some of the discrepancy between the two studies. However, so that the present authors are not accused of a "guilty mind" phenomenon, here are some coded instances from the re-examined shows.

On "LaVerne and Shirley," LaVerne says to Shirley, "Awright, Awright, say a doctor would be interested in you, but for what...a quick roll on the old operating table."

On "Nancy Walker," Nancy (on the phone), "Oh, honey, that is no way to get a job on television. There is no producer in ABC by that name. Get dressed and go home."

Same show: discussion of possible "unfaithful" and "cheating" husband of Nancy's daughter. Daughter offers women's stocking as evidence and says, "I found this on the back seat of his car." Her father responds, "...he's been making love to a one-legged old lady."

On "Serpico," young woman to star, "Do you like the way I look? Do you want me?" followed by initial embrace. Later on, same show,"Why did you bring me here?" Response: "I brought you here to make love to me. I figure I own you." Each of these terse interactions was accompanied by strong visual reinforcers of planned activity.

The coded episode of "Charlie's Angels" had five coded instances of intercourse, plus an explicit attempted rape scene in which a man picks up an angel, throws her on the couch and jumps on her. The five coded acts included two extended discussions of "affairs", one scene in which the principals viewed a pornographic movie, and the weekly scene in which an angel seemingly offers herself for information and then withdraws before anything is consummated.

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